595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]
1

212 /62 cont./
613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle.

175 A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To
[173] tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic,
175 and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.
•[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166

/footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1908, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 829 [634] [521] They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the imchchurd'a of the village, or by the jemâa, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' s-igud'iwn. The number of these piles is equal to that of the ikhs-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' takatin. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' aytma, tarwa n-âmmi, ulad el-âmm, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word ikhs. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ᶜOmar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort [613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the ikhs and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each ikhs putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
[191] these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the *open field* /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the *muchāc* of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the taqbilt is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613] a /227/ family stock. If, within the ikhs, the attachment of the
[592] different "foyers," takatin, to one another is genealogical and amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the ikhs-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth,
[423] it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

423 /230 cont./
613 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps
184 even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

171 The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes
423 only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms
[177] of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. It governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Besseba[c]. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," Ikraker.

• 829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an intemal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
219 among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
121 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
171 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
791 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
796 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

67
[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
*829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
•829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/148 cont./

621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
632 isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
*631 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
619 of "taqbilt" (1),
128
829

1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila," tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Afifen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

•829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2),
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

*631
*634
619

/169 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Aït Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

[829]

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domi-
648 nation by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable abuses for the country.

*631 In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid him-
648 self who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
•829 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
619 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
661 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman, and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves, the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the trans-
*631 formation of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
648 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
661 made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

* 631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
* 634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
661 tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
602 while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the territory in order to send them to their own tribe.